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THE JOURNEY OF HET'UM I, KING OF LITTLE ARMENIA, TO THE COURT OF THE GREAT KHAN MÖNGKE*

by

JOHN ANDREW BOYLE

Manchester

(With a sketch map by W. C. Brice, Manchester)

INTRODUCTION

The travels of King Het'um through Central Asia in the years 1254-1255 are recorded by Kirakos Ganjakeçi in his *History of the Armenians*. The account is most readily accessible in Bretschneider's somewhat abridged version[1] based upon a comparison of earlier translations by Argutinsky, Klaproth, Patkanov and Brosset.[2] In his detailed commentary Bretschneider made admirable and indeed exhaustive use of all the sources – Chinese, Muslim and European – that were then available. To-day, however, when the labours of such scholars as Barthold, Pelliot and Minorsky have vastly increased our knowledge of the history and geography of medieval Asia, the time has perhaps come to re-examine the problems of interpretation and identification which confronted the Russian Sinologist nearly eighty years ago. The task is facilitated by the recent researches of J. R. Hamilton[3] and by the publication, in 1961, of the critical edition of Kirakos's text[4] upon which the present translation is based.

The importance of Het'um's account to the student of historical geography was recognized from the very outset. Beazley describes it as "an Itinerary little inferior in value and interest to any other, even of this time of freshly awakened activity and boundless enterprise".[5] He draws special attention to the route followed by Het'um when starting upon the homeward journey, a route which he regards as being "so distinct from almost all other mediaeval Itineraries as to deserve a more prominent place than

* For a list of the abbreviations used in this article see below, pp. 188-189.

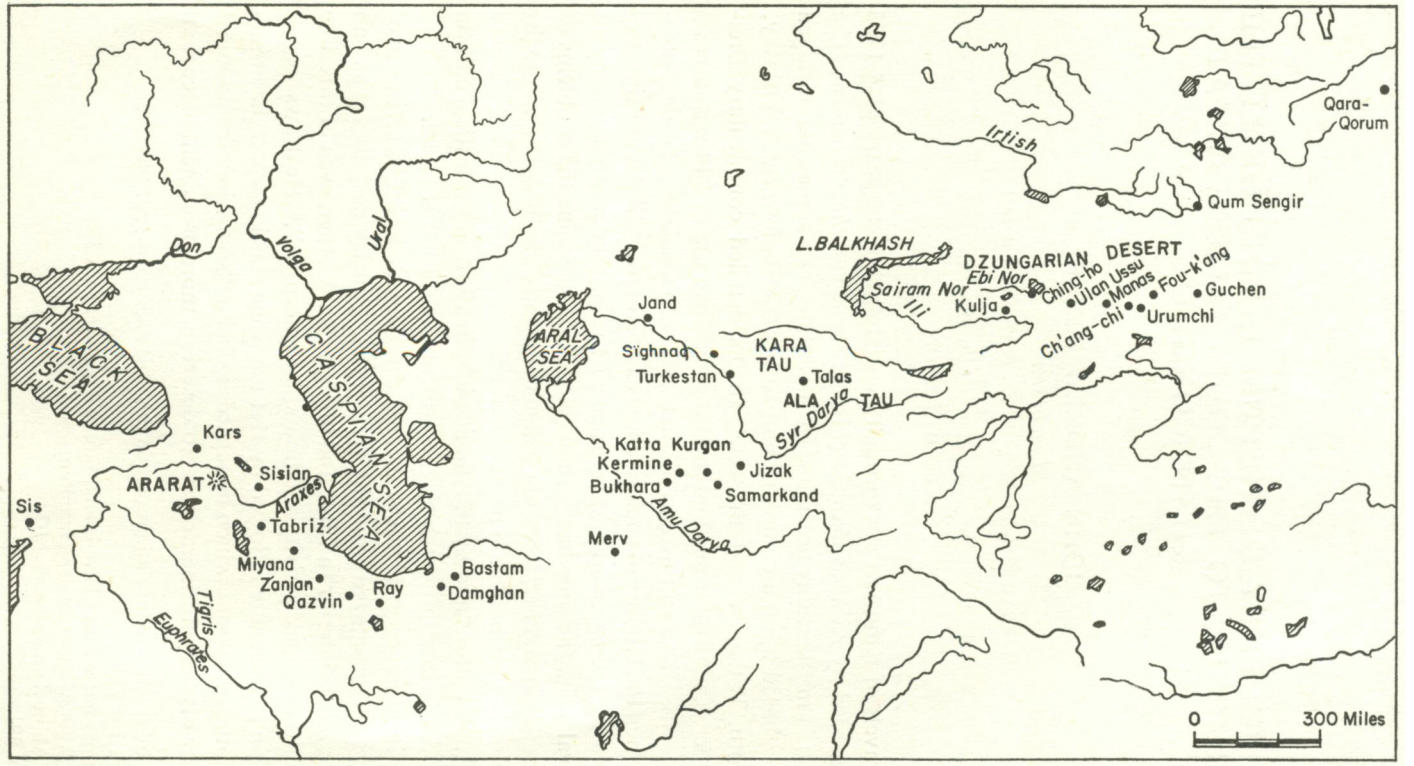
1 I, pp. 164-173.

2 He does not seem to have been aware of Dulaurier's version.

3 See Abbreviations under Hamilton.

4 See Abbreviations under MO.

5 II, p. 391.



Sketch map to illustrate King Het'um's journey to Mongolia. By W. C. Brice.

has usually been given it".[6] In point of fact this route through the Uiγur country seems to have been the normal highway: it was followed in both directions by Yeh-lü Ch'u-ts'ai, the Qitan minister of Genghis Khan, by the Taoist monk Ch'ang-ch'un and by the historian J̌uvainī:[7] only Carpini and Rubruck took a more northerly road. It is Het'um's itinerary down the right bank of the Sīr-Daryā that is perhaps the most interesting part of his journey. Here he followed the same route as Carpini, who mentions two places only, whereas Het'um provides a list of sixteen localities, some of which are otherwise recorded only in the historians of the Timurid period and for eight of which the Armenian traveller is the sole authority.[8]

His services to natural history are hardly less than those to geography. He shares with Rubruck the credit of first describing the *qulan* or Mongolian Wild Ass; he is the only medieval traveller to mention the wild camel; and, above all, his is the honour of having discovered Przewalsky's Horse over 600 years before Przewalsky.[9] On Buddhism he offers fewer details than his contemporary Rubruck; but he anticipates Polo in supplying the name of the historical Buddha and knows also of Maitreya, the future Buddha.[10] Even the "traveller's tales" are of interest and value. The wild men in the Dzungarian Desert are mentioned by other authorities also and admit perhaps of some rational explanation.[11] The story of the hairy dogs with their human wives must belong to the folklore of Siberia and can be traced back at any rate to the eighth century.[12] As for "the precious bone" which grows like a tree upon a "sandy island" this can only be a reference to the fossil ivory which is still to this day collected on the New Siberian Islands off the Arctic coast of Eastern Siberia.[13]

TRANSLATION[14]

OF THE JOURNEY OF HET'UM, THE PIOUS KING OF THE ARMENIANS, TO BAT'U AND MANGU ГAN

Het'um, the devout and Christ-loving king of the Armenians, who resided

[6] *Ibid.*, p. 386.

[7] For the itineraries of Yeh-lü Ch'u-ts'ai and Ch'ang-ch'un see Bretschneider, I, pp. 9-24 and 35-108 respectively; for the latter's itinerary see also Arthur Waley, *The Travels of an Alchemist* (London, 1931).

[8] See below, p. 184 and note 63.

[9] See below, p. 182 and notes 43, 44 and 45.

[10] See below, p. 187 and notes 101 and 103.

[11] See below, pp. 181-82 and note 42.

[12] See below, p. 187 and note 99.

[13] See below, p. 187 and note 100.

[14] MO, pp. 364-372. The system of transliteration is the same as in *Kirakos*.

in the town of Sis[15] in the region of Cilicia, had first sent his brother Smbat,[16] who was his commander-in-chief, to the Γan Giug with gifts and presents, and he had returned from him with honour and a rescript of acceptance. But when Mangu Γan began to reign, the great king-father[17] and general Bat'u, who had taken up his abode in the regions of the North, with the innumerable multitude that were with him, on the banks of the great and bottomless river called Et'il,[18] which flows into the Caspian Sea, sent to King Het'um to come and see him and Mangu Γan. And fearing him he set out in secret having disguised himself for dread of the Turks, who were his neighbours (whose ruler is called the Sultan of the Greeks,[19] whose name was Azadin[20]) because they bore a grudge against

[15] The capital of Little Armenia, the Flaviopolis or Flavias of the Byzantines, though Sis seems always to have been the native name; now Kozan.

[16] On the mission of Smbat (Sempad), the Constable of Armenia, to the Court of Güyük see *Cathay*, I, pp. 161-162.

[17] I.e. *king-maker*, so called, apparently, because of the decisive rôle he played in the elevation of Möngke to the Khanate.

[18] I.e. the Volga. The name Atïl/Etil – on the various Byzantine forms see Rockhill, p. 107, note 1, Marquart, "Kultur- und sprachliche Analekten", *Ungarische Jahrbücher*, IX, pp. 68-103 (p. 96) – goes back to the 6th century. Perhaps of Sarmatian origin, it was adopted by the Turks when they reached the Volga area. It is not, as suggested by Westberg and accepted by Chavannes (*Documents*, p. 151) and Barthold (*Zwölf Vorlesungen*, pp. 28 and 30, *Histoire des Turcs*, pp. 21 and 22), a Turkish word for "river", no old Turkish word for "river" even remotely resembling Atïl/Etil. That the Hungarians gave this name to the Don – and only to the Don if we accept Macartney's identification of Atelkuzu with Levedia, i.e. the region on the right bank of the Don near its mouth – is readily accounted for by the usual medieval confusion of the two rivers: even Benedict the Pole, whose companion, John de Plan Carpini, was the first European traveller to call the rivers by their modern names, speaks (Rockhill, p. 34) of "the great river Ethil, which the Ruscians call Volga and which is *believed to be the Tanais*". The earliest Turkish reference to the word is in Kāšγari, I, p. 73. The following translation of the relevant passage was kindly supplied me by Sir Gerard Clauson: "إِتِل (*atīl* or *etil*?): The name of a river in the Kıpçak country; it flows into the *baḥr Bulğar* and has a branch flowing to *Rūs*. (Verse:)

The water of the Atil/Etil flows and beats against the side of the mountains.
There are many fish and turtles (frogs?) and the lake is full to overflowing".

[19] *Horomoç sultann*, i.e. The Sultan of Rūm.

[20] I.e. 'Izz-ad-Din Kai-Ka'us II (1245-1257). On the disguise adopted by Het'um cf. Barhebraeus, *Chronography*, transl. Budge, pp. 418-419: "And because he [i.e. Het'um - J.A.B.] was afraid that the nobles of BÊTH RHÔMÂYÊ [i.e. Rūm - J.A.B.] would smite him in treachery, he made a report to go out that he was sending an ambassador on in advance to the Khān, and that when he received the command [i.e. permit to travel] he would set out. And he also wrote letters to the lord of BÊTH RHÔMÂYÊ with this same object. And he himself went forth with this ambassador, and he was disguised in the dress of servants and he was leading a horse; now he was dressed in filthy rags, and he rode upon a most wretched beast. And he passed through all the cities of BÊTH RHÔMÂYÊ, and no man knew him, but in 'ARZENGÂN a man in the bazâr recognized him, and said, 'This is king HAITÛM'. And when the ambassador heard [this] he turned round to

him for his having given aid to the Tʿatʿar. And hurrying through his territory he came in twelve days to the town of Kars. And having visited Baçu Nuin,[21] who was the commander of the Tʿatʿar army in the East,[22] and other great men, and having been honoured by them, he halted in Aragacotn opposite Mount Aray in a village called Vardenis, in the house of a prince called Kʿurd, an Armenian by race and a Christian by religion; his sons were Vaçē and Hasan, and his wife Xorišah, of the race of the Mamikonians, the daughter of Marzpan, the sister of Aslan Beg and Grigor.[23] [Here he remained] until there were brought him from his house the goods to be used as gifts and presents, which were sent by his father the prince of princes Kostandin, then an old man, and his sons Leon and Tʿoros, whom he had left as his vice-gerents; for his pious queen, Zabēl by name,[24] which, being translated is Elizabeth, that is "the sabbath of God",[25] had departed unto Christ, and indeed in accordance with her name her repose was upon the will of God; [she was] beneficent, charitable and a friend of the needy; [she was] the daughter of the great king Leon, the first to be crowned.[26]

And when the great Catholicos Kostandin learnt that he had made a safe journey and had halted in Great Armenia he despatched the great vartapet Yakob, an eloquent and learned man, whom they had previously sent, for the sake of love and unity to John, the king of the Greeks,[27] who held the regions of Asia and had become great in days, and to their patriarch. And having come, with wise words from the holy scriptures he withstood the examination of the assembly of the Greeks, who, because we say there is one nature in Christ, falsely accused us of being Eutychians. And he with wise words [and] with the scriptures displayed Christ as God

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the king as he was leading the horse, and he smote him on his cheek and reviled him, and said, 'Yea, O fool, here thou wouldst be a king, and they would liken thee to a king!' And thus the man's suspicion was removed. And the king continued to wear the garb of peasants (or, husbandmen) until he came to the frontier of the IBERIANS [i.e. the Georgians – J.A.B.], and then he revealed himself".

[21] On the name see Cleaves, pp. 411-412. On Baiju Noyan, who replaced Čormaqan as commander-in-chief of the Mongol forces in Western Asia, see Grousset, *L'Empire des steppes*, pp. 328 and 420 ff.

[22] I.e. Western Asia, our *Middle East*.

[23] On Grigor see *Kirakos*, p. 180.

[24] Isabel's first husband had been Philip, the fourth son of Bohemond IV of Antioch; she married Hetʿum very much against her will. See Serarpie Der Nersessian, "The Kingdom of Cilician Armenia" in *A History of the Crusades*, ed. Kenneth M. Setton, II, pp. 630-659 (651-652).

[25] In point of fact Elizabeth (Elisheba) means "whose oath is by God".

[26] On the coronation of Leon II see Der Nersessian, *op. cit.*, pp. 646-649.

[27] I.e. John III Ducas Vatatzes, Byzantine Emperor at Nicaea, 1222-1254.

and man, perfect in both [forms], with ineffable harmony, without destroying the divinity or confusing the humanity, glorified in one nature, acting like God and like man. There was also discussion of [the expression] "Holy Mother of God",[28] which we use in respect of the Son, in accordance with the testimony of John the Evangelist. And whatever other stumbling-blocks they found in our confession of faith, he explained it all with pious words and the testimony of the scriptures and having inclined their minds to love and union with our nation returned from them with honour.[29] And there came [also] the bishop Tēr Stepʿanos, and the vartapet Mxitʿar, who was in Skewray,[30] having come from the regions of the East, and the priest Barseɣ, who was the ambassador of Batʿu; with him had come the celibate priest Tʿoros, and Karapet, who was chaplain to the king, a gentle, kind and learned man, and many princes also.

Taking these along with him the king proceeded through the land of the Albanians and the Gate of Darband, which is the fortress of Čor,[31] to Batʿu and to Sartʿax[32] his son, who was a Christian by religion;[33] and he was honoured by them with much kindness. They sent him to the Γan Mangu by a very long road, beyond the Caspian Sea.

And having left them on the 6th of the month of Marevi, the 13th of May,[34] they crossed the river Ayex[35] and came to the place[36] which is half

[28] *Astuacacin*, Θεοτόκος

[29] On the religious controversies between the Byzantine and Armenians see Serarpie Der Nersessian, *Armenia and the Byzantine Empire* (Cambridge, Mass., 1945), pp. 29-54. Of this particular disputation Kirakos's brief account appears to be the only record.

[30] The monastery of Skewray (Skevra) was situated near the fortress of Lambron to the north-west of Tarsus.

[31] On the city-state of Darband (Čor or Ǯor in Armenian) see now V. Minorsky, *A History of Sharvān and Darband in the 10th-11th centuries* (Cambridge, 1958), pp. 86-91.

[32] On Sartaq, one of the forms of the Mongol name for the Muslims, see *Horde d'Or*, p. 34.

[33] Though, according to Rubruck, he rejected the name of Christian. The friar and his party were told by his secretaries:"'You must not say that our lord is a Christian. He is not a Christian, but a Moal [Mongol].' For the name of Christian seems to them that of a nation. They have risen so much in their pride, that though they may believe somewhat in the Christ, yet will they not be called Christians, wishing to exalt their own name of Moal above all others ..." See Rockhill, p. 107, also p. 116. In view of Sartaq's own name (see previous note) there was apparently no analogous objection to being called a Muslim!

[34] *Sc.* 1254.

[35] T. Yayïq, the Ural. The name is of course pre-Turkish, going back to the Δαιξ of Ptolemy. See Clauson, *Turkish and Mongolian Studies* (London, 1962), pp. 124-125.

[36] All of the translators except Dulaurier refer here to an unidentified place called Hor or Or. This is due, as Dulaurier, p. 467, note 1, points out, to their failing to understand a somewhat aberrant use of the relative pronoun *or*. The reference is apparently to a point on the frontier between the territories of Batu and Möngke, somewhere in the Chu valley. See Rockhill, p. 138.

way between Bat'u and Mangu Γan; and crossing the river Ertič[37] they entered the land of the Nayiman; and coming into Xaraxətay[38] and passing into T'at'arastan, on the 4th of the month of Hoŕi, the 13th of September, on the feast of the Consecration of the Cross they saw Mangu Γan seated in splendid pomp. And having offered his presents [the king] was suitably honoured by him. And he stayed there for fifty days and was given a rescript bearing a seal saying that none should presume to molest him or his land: [the Γan] also gave him a letter of enfranchisement for the churches everywhere.

And he left him on the 50th day, on the 23rd of the month of Sahmi, the 1st of November, and in 30 days he reached Γumsγur.[39] And he came to Berbalex,[40] and to Bešbalex,[41] and to sandy country,[42] in which there

[37] T. Ertiš, the Irtish, i.e. the Black Irtish, which was in fact the western frontier of the Naiman. Ertič is probably a copyist's alteration of an earlier *Ertiç, itself a corruption of an original *Ertiš. – Sir Gerard Clauson, in a letter dated the 25th November, 1963, writes: "So far as I know the earliest Turkish reference to the Ertiş is in Kāşğarī I 97 which reads: '*Ertiş* the name of a river in the Yemek steppes. It flows into a small lake there; it has various tributaries (نُلُجْ وَأُوْذِيَة) and is called *Ertiş suvı*:; the name is taken from the word *ertis* meaning "he competed with me to see which of us was the most resolute in crossing it"'. This is no doubt a false etymology; *ert-* is an intransitive verb meaning "to pass, elapse"; "to cross" (a river) is *aş-* or *keç-* and *ertiş* is not otherwise recorded as a noun. I strongly suspect that the name is pre-Turkish and has no 'meaning', but there is no way of finding out".

[38] *i Xaraxatayn.* Probably a corruption of *i Xaraxatayēn* "from Xaraxatay", for in crossing the Irtish the party left the territory of the QaraXitai behind them and entered Mongolia (T'at'arastan).

[39] The Turkish Qum-Sengir "Sand Promontory", a name which appears in the *Yüan shih* as Hêng-hsiang-yi-êrh, in J̌uvainī and Barhebraeus as قمسنكر* and in the *Secret History of the Mongols* as Qum-Šinggir. See Pelliot, *Papauté*, pp. 196-197, Pelliot and Hambis, *Campagnes*, pp. 315-316. According to the latter passage Qum-Sengir is to be sought somewhere along the upper course of the Urungu, probably at the point where it ceases to flow from North to South and makes a sharp turn to the West.

[40] Identified by Hamilton, pp. 146-147, with the P'u-lei of the T'ang period, the present-day Mu-lei, 5 km east of Guchen (Ku-ch'êng).

[41] Beš-Balïq ("Five Towns"), the Uiγur capital corresponding to the modern Jimsa, a little to the north-west of Guchen.

[42] Carpini too (Dawson, p. 20) speaks of wild men in this area, i.e. the Dzungarian Desert. They are the *nasnās* of Muslim writers, "a creature", according to Niẓāmī-yi-'Arūḍī, p. 9, "inhabiting the plains of Turkistán, of erect stature, with wide flat nails". He recounts a story told him in Nishapur in 510/1116-7 of a caravan of merchants who when travelling towards Tamγāč (i.e. China) encountered "on a sand-hill a woman, bare-headed and quite naked, extremely beautiful in form, with a figure like a cypress, a face like the moon, and long hair, standing and looking at us. Although we spoke to her, she made no reply; and when we approached her, she fled, running so swiftly in her flight that probably no horse could have overtaken her. Our muleteers, who were Turks, said that this was a wild man, such as they call *nasnás*". Marvazī places these wild men, in one passage (p. 31), in the "meadows and steppes" between Ūǰ (i.e. Uch Turfan) and Kashghar and, in another (p. 60), in the "deserts stretching between

were wild men, stark naked, with hair only on the head, the women's breasts being very large and long; and they were mute. There were also wild horses, yellow and black in colour,[43] and mules, white and black in colour and larger than horses or donkeys;[44] and wild camels, which have two humps.[45]

And from thence they came to Arlex,[46] and K'ullug,[47] and Ǝngax,[48] and J̌anbalex,[49] and Xut'ap'ay,[50] and Angiḇalex.[51]

And then they entered T'urk'astan;[52] and from thence [they proceeded]

Badakhshān and Kāshghar". See also Minorsky's commentary, p. 105. Elsewhere (pp. 59-60) Marvazī tells a gruesome story of the hunting of these creatures for food in Southern Arabia.

[43] This is of course Przewalsky's Horse, which is at the present day "on the verge of extinction, and survives perhaps only between Lakes Baikal and Balkhash and in Mongolia; it was formerly widely distributed over the whole of central and southern Siberia". See François Bourlière, *Mammals of the World* (London, 1955), p. 156.

[44] The Mongolian Wild Ass (*Equus hemionus hemionus*), T. *qulan*, Mo. *čikitei*. It is now apparently only to be found about Orok Nor and Chagan Nor in Central Mongolia. See J. R. Ellerman and T. C. S. Morrison-Scott, *Check-List of Palaearctic and Indian Mammals 1758 to 1946* (London, 1951), p. 342. William of Rubruck (Rockhill, pp. 69 and 134) also remarks upon the resemblance of these animals to mules.

[45] *Camelus bactrianus ferus*, which is still to be found in the Gobi. See Ellerman and Morrison-Scott, *op. cit.*, p. 349. Marvazī too, p. 31, reports the presence of wild camels in the same area as the *nasnās*, i.e. the region between Uch-Turfan and Kashghar.

[46] This is the Yarlïγ of J̌uvainī, the birthplace of Körgüz, 4 *farsax* from Beš-Balïq (*HWC*, p. 489, where for Barligh there should be substituted Yarligh in accordance with the Persian text), the Bārluγ (read *Yārluγ) of the *Ḥudūd* (p. 94). It is identified by Hamilton, pp. 144-145, with the Yeh-lê of the *T'ang shu*, 180 *li* east of Lun-t'ai (Urumchi) more or less on the site of the present-day relay station Po-yang. Hamilton plausibly suggests that the name means "a place where there is a cliff (*yar*)".

[47] Identified by Hamilton (p. 145) with the Chü-liu of the *T'ang shu*, 80 *li* west of Yeh-lê, corresponding more or less to the present-day Fou-k'ang. Hamilton identifies it also with the كوكيل of the *Ḥudūd* (p. 94), which he accordingly emends to كول * (perhaps rather كول *), i.e. *Köllüg, a derivative of *köl* "lake", i.e. "place where there is a lake".

[48] Not Yəngax as Hamilton reads it (pp. 146 and 147), the y- being the form taken by the – preposition *i* "in, into, etc." before a vowel. He suggests its identity with the "T.nzāgh-art" of the *Ḥudūd* (p. 95), "an earthen mountain ... and a stage for the merchants".

[49] The J̌an Balïq of Kāšγarī, one of the five towns of the Uiγur. For a translation of the relevant passage see Clauson, "The Name Uyğur", *JRAS*, Parts 3 & 4, 1963, pp. 140-149 (140-141). Hamilton, p. 147, suggests its identity with the T'ang town of Chang, 150 *li* west of Lun-t'ai (Urumchi), near the present-day town of Ch'ang-chi 50 km west of Urumchi.

[50] The present-day Khutubai, approximately 35 km west of Ch'ang-chi.

[51] The Yangï Balïq ("New Town") of Kāšγarī, one of the five towns of the Uiγur. See Clauson, *loc. cit.* According to Hamilton, p. 148, it was situated near the present-day Manas.

[52] Apparently Het'um did not regard the sedentary (and Buddhist) Uiγur as Turks: only upon leaving their territory and finding himself in that of the Qarluq did he feel himself to be in "Turkistān".

to Ergopʿorug,[53] and Dingaḇalex,[54] and Pʿulaḏ;[55] and having passed the Sutkʿōl or Milk-Sea,[56] they came to Alualex[57] and Ilanḇalex.[58] And having crossed the river which is called Ilansu[59] and passed over a branch of the Tōros mountains[60] they arrived in Talas[61] and came to Hulawu, who was the brother of Mangu Ṙan and had taken as his portion the regions of the East.[62]

[53] Hamilton, p. 148, suggests the identity of Ergopʿorug with the "Irgūzǧkath (?)" of the *Ḥudūd* (p. 95), "a stage with pasture lands ... and springs", which Minorsky in his commentary (pp. 276-277) is inclined to identify with the Iki-Ögüz of Kāšγarī. Hamilton places Ergopʿorug in the neighbourhood of the present-day Ulan Ussu.

[54] The word is a regularly formed Armenian compound of *Ding* and *-ḇalex* (= T. *baliq* "town"), i.e. "Ding Town". *Ding* is undoubtedly to be identified with the first element of Ching-ho ("Ching River"), a town immediately south of the Ebi Nor upon a river of the same name flowing into the lake. For some reason Bretschneider, who had suggested this identification in a previous work, makes no mention of it in his *Mediaeval Researches*. See Rockhill, pp. 137-138, note 2.

[55] The Pūlād of the Persian historians and the Bolat of Rubruck (Rockhill, p. 137), where Büri's German prisoners were "digging for gold and manufacturing arms". Bretschneider, II, p. 42, suggests that the town was situated somewhere in the valley of the Borotala, which flows into the Ebi Nor. There must be some connection between the name of the town and the Persian *pōlād/pūlād* "steel" (>Mo. *bolud*).

[56] Lit. "by the Sut-Kʿōl and by the Sea of Milk (*Katʿin Covn*)". Süt-Köl, from T. *süt* "milk" and *köl* "lake", is Lake Sairam. The Turkish name occurs in Rašīd-ad-Dīn (Blochet, p. 406) and the *Ẓafar-Nāma* (II, p. 479) and, according to Bretschneider, p. 169, note 476, is still used by the Kirghiz. Perhaps Lake Sairam was identified with the legendary milk lake that figures in the mythology of so many North Asian peoples. See Harva, pp. 85 f. and 170 ff.

[57] Probably a copyist's alteration of an earlier *Alvalex, a corruption of an original *Almalex. Almalīq, the "Apple-Orchard", was situated in the valley of the Ili, not far from the later Kulja. It is the "city of Armalec in the Empire of Tartary", where in 1339 or 1340 the Franciscan martyrs met their end. See *Cathay*, III, pp. 31-32. Sir Gerard Clauson, in the letter referred to above, p. 181, note 37, writes: "*Almalık* is the name of more than one place. As well as the well-known one mentioned here there is one in Usrushuna and probably others elsewhere. By far the earliest reference to an Almalık, but it is not certain which, is in one of the Sogdian documents of the first quarter of the 8th century from Mount Mug. The reference is: *Sogdiyskiye Dokumenty s Gory Mug*, Pt. III, *Khozyaystvennye Dokumenty* edited by M. N. Bogolyubov and O. I. Smirnova p. 45 Document Bl line 4 *'δmδwkč γwβw* ' the ruler of Almaluk' (and see p. 101)."

[58] The I-li-pa-li of the Chinese medieval map, on which it appears south-west of Almalīγ. See Bretschneider, I, p. 169, note 478, II, p. 44. The -n- in Ilanbalex is the Armenian definite article attached to *Ila*, i.e. T. *Ila* "Ili"; – *ḇalex* is T. *balīq* "town"

[59] The Ili: Ila-n "the Ili" (see previous note); – *su*, T. *su* "water"; "river".

[60] I.e. apparently the Ala Tau regarded as the eastern branch of the Alexandrovsky range. See Bretschneider, pp. 169, note 480, and 170, note 483.

[61] According to Brosset, p. 178, note 14, it is stated in the Chinese annals that Hülegü reached Talas on the 28th of the second month, in 1255, i.e. at the precise time indicated by the Armenian itinerary. I am assured, however, by Dr. Arthur Waley, in a letter dated the 4th June, 1963, that there is no mention of this either in the *Yüan shih* or in any other Chinese source.

[62] See above, p. 179, note 22.

And then turning to the northwest they came to Xutuxči, and Berk'ant', and Suγulγan, and Urosoγan, and K'ayik'ant', and Xuzax, which is K'amoç, and Xntaxoyr,[63] and Sγnax,[64] which is[65] the Xarcux mountains,[66] from whence the Salčuk'ik'[67] come, which begin in the Tōros mountains,[68] and come as far as P'arčin,[69] and divide.

And from thence they came to Sart'ax, the son of Bat'u, who was going to Mangu Γan,[70] and from thence to Sγnax, and Sawran,[71] which is very large, and Xaraçux,[72] and Ason,[73] and Sawri,[74] and Ot'rar, and Zurnux,[75] and Dizak;[76] and from thence, in thirty days,[77] to Samarγand,

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[63] None of these places, which apparently lay in the region on the right bank of the Sïr-Daryā between Talas and Sïγnaq, have been identified. Suγulγan is apparently the شغلجا ن of Maqdisī, "a frontier post against the Kīmāk" (*Ḥudūd*, p. 306). Cf. the سغلغا نلیق Soγulγanlïq of the *Ẓafar-Nama* (p. 478), which lay between two equally unknown localities سغیرغا ن Saγïrγan and کوکیار Kök-Yar ("Blue Cliff"). K'amoç appears to be a genitive plural of a noun *K'am, in which case Xuzax is stated to belong to people bearing this name.

[64] Sïγnaq lay "on the site of the present ruins of Sunak-kurgan or Sunak-ata, six or seven miles north of the post station of Tumen-aryk" (*Turkestan*, p. 179).

[65] We must perhaps understand this as standing loosely and ungrammatically for something like "which places are situated in".

[66] The Qaračuq mountain range of the *Ẓafar-Nāma* (p. 272), the present-day Kara Tau.

[67] Plural of Salčuk'i, the *-i* being apparently the Persian adjectival suffix *-ī*: the Seljuqs. On the strength of Kirakos's spelling Marquart argued that Salčuq (and not Selčük/Seljük) was the correct form of the name. See *Horde d'Or*, p. 176, note 2, where Pelliot shows conclusively that Selčük or more probably Seljük was what they called themselves.

[68] I.e. the Alexandrovsky range. See above, p. 183, note 60.

[69] The Barchin of Carpini (Rockhill, p. 14 and note 1), Barčïn, Barčïnlïγor Barčïnlïγ-Kent (*Turkestan*, p. 179 and note 3): it lay somewhere between Sïγnaq and J̌and.

[70] According to J̌uvainī (*HWC*, p. 268). Sartaq was on his way to attend a *quriltai* held in 653/1255-6.

[71] The ruins of Sabrān/Saurān are situated some 30 miles N.W. of Turkestan. See Bretschneider, p. 170, note 486. Already in Maqdisī's day Saurān was "a very large town" (le Strange, p. 486).

[72] The *Ẓafar-Nāma* (p. 503) mentions a place called قراجوق Qaračuq between Yasī and Sabrān.

[73] Lerch (Bretschneider, p. 170, note 487) was the first to identify Ason (the *-n* is the Armenian definite article) with Yasī (Yasï), the older Šāvγar, now Turkestan in Kazakhstan.

[74] Unidentified.

[75] The Zarnūq (Zurnūq) of Juvainī (*HWC*, pp. 98-100) and the *Ẓafar-Nāma*, in which latter work (II, p. 646) it is mentioned as the last stage before the bank of the Sïr-Daryā in Tamerlane's march from Samarqand to Otrar. It is apparently to be identified with the "Dharnūkh" of the *Ḥudūd* (p. 119), "a borough on the bank of a river, prosperous but sparsely populated".

[76] The Dizak of the *Ḥudūd* (p. 115) and Dizaq of the *Ẓafar-Nāma* (pp. 95, 161 and 162): the present-day Jizak in Uzbekistan.

and Saripʿul,[78] and Kʿrman,[79] and Buxaray. And then they crossed the great river J̌ehun[80] and came to Mrmən[81] and Saraxs, and then to Tus, which stands opposite to Xorasan, which is called Ṙōɣastan;[82] and entering Mazandaran[83] [they came] from thence to B̲stan,[84] and then into the land of Eraɣ[85] into the territory of the Mulhed,[86] coming to D̲amɣayn,[87] and the great city of Ṙē,[88] and Xzuin;[89] and from thence to Awhar,[90] and Zangian,[91] and Miana,[92] and, in twelve days, Tʿavrēž.[93] And 26 days after they crossed the river Erasx[94] and came to Sisian[95] to

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[77] As Bretschneider, I, p. 171, note 488, pointed out, there must be some mistake in the figure.

[78] Sar-i-Pul, the older Xušūfaɣn. The ruins of this fortress are situated 4 miles from Katta-Kurgan. See *Turkestan*, pp. 126-7.

[79] Karmīnīya, the present-day Kermine.

[80] J̌aiḫūn, the Oxus.

[81] Merv. Mrmən is presumably a corruption of an original *Mrvən, the *-n* being the definite article.

[82] Perhaps for an original *Kʿōhastan, i.e. Kōhistān (Quhistān). We can then amend the text slightly to read: "Tus, which stands opposite to *that part of* Xorasan which is called *Kʿōhastan". Quhistān like Sijistān (Sīstān) was generally regarded by the Muslim geographers as a dependency of Khorasan. See le Strange, p. 352.

[83] The party can hardly have entered Māzandarān proper but they may have crossed the southern extremity of Gurgān, which was sometimes regarded as forming part of that province. See le Strange, p. 369.

[84] Bisṭām in Qūmis.

[85] ʿIrāq (ʿIrāq-i-ʿAjam), the earlier J̌ibāl.

[86] The Arabo-Persian *mulḥid* (pl. *malāḥida*): the Ismāʿīlīs.

[87] Dāmɣān was not, as is implied here, in ʿIrāq, but in Qūmis, of which it was the capital city.

[89] Ray, the Rhages of the Ancients, a few miles to the south of Tehran.

[89] Qazvīn.

[90] Abhar. The popular form Auhar occurs in the *Ḥudūd* (pp. 132 and 383).

[91] Zangān (Zanǰān).

[92] Miyāna.

[93] Tabrīz. – On the Armenian form of the name I am greatly indebted to Professor W. B. Henning for the following note in a communication dated the 25th April, 1964: "That *T'avrēž* represents the earlier, hence Middle-Iranian, form of *Tabriz* cannot seriously be doubted, even though it may never occur in indigenous sources (which for the MIr. period are very poor for geographical terms); Hübschmann, Arm. Gramm. i 42. In 'Prof. Jackson Memorial Volume', Bombay 1954, p. 50, I pointed out a *Parthian* seal-inscription, which *might* be *twryš 'ḥmrkr* 'Finance-officer of *Taurēš*' (cf. Faustus' *Tʿavrēš*) and thus supply the missing link; but the reading is not certain. – Ultimately the name is probably pre-Iranian (perhaps Mannaean), if *Tar-ma-ki-sa* in Sargon's records constitutes an early form of the name (as claimed by Herzfeld, Archaeol. Hist. of Iran, 12; the town was placed in the neighbourhood of Tabrīz by Thureau-Dangin, Relation Hist. Comp., p. viii)".

[94] The Araxes.

[95] Sisian, as Bretschneider, p. 171, note 494, was the first to recognize, is identical with Sitiens (Siciens), the summer camp of Baiǰu, where in 1247 he received Friar Ascelin and his companions and gave them his reply to the letter from Innocent IV.

Baçu Nuin, who was the commander of the T'at'ar army; and he sent them on to Xoja Nuin,[96] whom he had left as his lieutenant in command of the army, whilst he himself took the commanders of the army and went to meet the brother of Mangu Γan, who was coming into the East.

Meanwhile the pious king Het'um, having come to the house of Prince K'urd in the village of Vardenis, where he had left his baggage and equipment, awaited the arrival of the priest Barseγ, whom he had sent once again to Bat'u to show him the letters and decree of Mangu Γan, so that he too might write decrees to the same effect.

Then there came to him his vardapets Yakob, whom he had left here to see to the affairs of the church, and Mxit'ar, whom he had caused to return from Bat'u, while he was going to Mangu Γan; and also bishops and vardapets, and priests, and princes from amongst the Christians, who came to him – he received them all with love, for he was a gentle man, wise and learned in the Scriptures. And he gave them presents in accordance with his means and sent them all away happy; he also gave sacerdotal robes for the adornment of the churches, for he greatly loved mass and the church. He received the Christians of all nations and besought them to live in love with one another, as brothers and members of Christ, even as the Lord had commanded, saying, "By this shall all men know that ye are my disciples, if ye have love one to another".[97]

He told us many strange and unknown matters about the barbarian nations which he had seen or heard of. He said: "There is beyond the

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The village seems, until recent times, to have sunk into complete obscurity: Pelliot, *Papauté*, pp. 103-106, discusses its location at some length without reaching a definite conclusion. In fact, Sisian, now the administrative centre of the district of the same name in the Armenian S.S.R., is situated 100 km N.E. of Nakhichevan on the Erevan-Baku railway line. See the *Bol'šaya Sovetskaya Enciklopediya*[2], *s.v.*

[96] On the name see Cleaves, pp. 431-432. Xoja was the son of Yeke-Yasa'ur (Khetagurov, pp. 99-100), in Persian Yasa'ur-i-buzurg (Smirnova, p. 268), i.e. Yasa'ur the Elder (lit. Great). He belonged to the Qorulas according to the former passage, to the Olqunut according to the latter (also Alizade, p. 303) and is almost certainly to be identified with the Yasawur (Yasa'ur) of J̌uvainī (*HWC*, pp. 46 and 118), who was dispatched, after the fall of Samarqand, into the region of the Upper Oxus; also with the *Yasawur Bahadur of J̌ūzǰānī (Raverty, pp. 1042-3), who, after the Battle of the Indus, was sent along with Ögedei to attack and destroy Ghazna. See Boyle, "The Mongol Commanders in Afghanistan and India according to the *Ṭabaqāt-i Nāṣirī* of Jūzjānī", *Islamic Studies*, II/2, pp. 235-47 (p. 240). Of his son Xoja we know from Ibn-Bībī (pp. 272 and 275) that he played a leading part in the Battle of Aksaray (14th October, 1256) and that he died in the ensuing winter, apparently poisoned by the Parvāna Niẓām-ad-Dīn Xuršīd, the vizier of Qïlïj-Arslan IV, the occasion being a feast held by the Sultan in honour of Baiju in Āb-i-Garm (the present-day Irgın S.E. of Akşehir).

[97] John xiii, 35.

Γatayik'[98] a country in which the women are in human form and endowed with reason and the men are in the shape of dogs and are devoid of reason, large and hairy. And the dogs allow no one to enter their country, and they hunt game, and on this they and the women live. And when the dogs have intercourse with the women, the males are born in the shape of dogs and the females in that of women.[99]

There is also a sandy island, in which there grows, like a tree, a certain precious bone, which is called "fish tooth"; and when it is cut, another grows in its place like deer's antlers.[100]

There is also a country with many idolaters who worship very large clay idols called Šakmonia; and they say [this is] a god three thousand and forty years old.[101] And there are also another thirty-five *tumans* of years, one *tuman*[102] being ten thousand, and then he will be deprived of his divinity by another god called Maṭrin,[103] of whom they have made clay images of immense size, in a beautiful temple.

And the whole nation, including the women and children are priests and are called *toyins*.[104] They shave both the hair of the head and the

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[98] I.e. the Chinese, from the Persian *Xitā'ī*/*Xatā'ī* with the Armenian nominative plural ending *-k'*.

[99] The story of the dogs with human wives is found in Carpini also (Dawson, p. 23). For a very much older version see Jacques Bacot, "Reconnaissance en Haute Asie septentrionale par cinq envoyés ouigours an VIIIe siècle", *JA*, 1956, 2, pp. 137-153 (147). Bacot, *op. cit.*, p. 138, compares this story with that of the dog P'an Hu, "époux de la fille de l'empereur Kao Sin et dont le fils Yao est l'ancêtre des Barbares du Sud; légende retrouvée par Henri Deydier chez les Yao du Laos, à quelque 3,500 kilomètres plus au sud, qui se disent descendants de la fille de l'empereur de Chine et du Chien P'an Hou".

[100] Brosset, p. 180, note 4, compares the Russian name for fossil ivory, *rīb'ya kost'* "fish bone". The "sandy island" is apparently a vague reference to the New Siberian Islands, where mammoth tusks are still collected to-day.

[101] Śākyamuṇi (Marco Polo's Sagamoni Borcan), i.e. the historical Buddha, was born *ca.* 560 B.C. With Het'um's fantastic figures (quoted also by Vardan, p. 159) cf. the statement of Rašīd-ad-Dīn (and Banākatī) that in 717/1317-8 2339 years had passed since the birth of the Buddha. See Karl Jahn, "An Indian Legend on the Descent of the Mongols" in *Charisteria Orientalia* (Prague, 1956), pp. 120-127 (p. 127, note 28).

[102] T. and Mo. *tümen* "ten thousand": a loanword from "Tokharian" A *tmaṃ*, B *tumani*.

[103] On Maitreya, the future Buddha, see Edward Conze, *Buddhism: its Essence and Development* (Oxford 1951), pp. 116-117. At the time of Śākyamuṇi man's lifespan is reckoned to have been 100 years; but as his iniquity increases so his life will shorten until it sinks to an average length of only 10 years. He will then begin to mend his ways, and as his morals improve so will his expectation of life. When by good works mankind shall have achieved an average age of 80,000 years, then and then only will Maitreya, now in the Heaven of the Satisfied, appear upon the earth. Het'um's figure of 335,000 years between Śākyamuṇi and Maitreya is also given by Vardan, *loc. cit.*

[104] T. *toyīn* "Buddhist priest" < Chinese *tao-jên*.

beard; they wear yellow cloaks like Christians, but they wear them from the breast and not from the shoulders. And they are temperate in their food and in their marriages. They take a wife at twenty, and up to thirty approach her three times a week, and up to forty three times a month, and up to fifty, three times a year; and when they have passed fifty, they no longer go near her.[105]

The learned king related many other things regarding the barbarous nations which we have omitted lest they might appear superfluous.

He arrived in Armenia eight months after leaving Mangu Γan; and it was in the year 704 of the Armenian era.[106]

ABBREVIATIONS

Alizade = Fäzlullah Räšidäddin, *Džami-ät-Tävarix*, Vol. III, ed. A. A. Alizade, transl. A. K. Arends (Baku, 1957).

Altunian = Georg Altunian, *Die Mongolen und ihre Eroberungen in kaukasischen und kleinasiatischen Ländern im XIII. Jahrhundert* (Berlin, 1911).

Beazley = C. R. Beazley, *The Dawn of Modern Geography*, Vol. II (London, 1901).

Blochet = *Djami el-Tévarikh: Histoire générale du monde*, par Fadl Allah Rashid ed-Din, Vol. II, ed. E. Blochet (Leiden and London, 1911).

Bretschneider = E. Bretschneider, *Medieval Researches from Eastern Asiatic Sources*, 2 vols. (London, 1888)

Brosset = *Deux historiens arméniens Kirakos de Gantzag, Oukhtanès d'Ourha*, transl. M. J. Brosset (St. Petersburg, 1870-71).

Campagnes = *Histoire des campagnes de Gengis Khan: Cheng-wou ts'in-tcheng lou*, transl. and ed. Paul Pelliot and Louis Hambis, Vol. I, (Leiden, 1951).

Cathay = *Cathay and the Way Thither*, transl. and ed. Sir Henry Yule (new edition revised by Henri Cordier), 4 vols. (London, 1915-16).

Cleaves = F. W. Cleaves, "The Mongolian Names and Terms in the *History of the Nation of the Archers* by Grigor of Akanc'", *HJAS*, 1, pp. 400-443. (Published in book form in 1954 by the Harvard University Press along with Blake and Frye's edition and translation of Grigor of Akner.)

Dawson = *The Mongol Mission*, ed. Christopher Dawson (London, 1955).

Documents = E. Chavannes, *Documents sur les T'ou-kiue (Turcs) Occidentaux* (St. Petersburg, 1903).

[105] Dr. Waley, in the letter referred to above, p. 183, note 61, thinks this must be a legendary Buddhist country "with a touch of Tibet, where one order of monks did marry". However, many of the details tally with Rubruck's account of the Uiγur Buddhists (Rockhill, pp. 143-148); and the reference to yellow robes would seem to exclude the Tibetan clergy, who at that time were universally dressed in red. See Conze, *op. cit.*, pp. 200-201, also Rockhill, p. 145, note 2. The passage about the sexual abstemiousness of these Buddhists is reproduced by Vardan, p. 160 (see also Altunian, p. 58), who however applies it to the Mongols themselves, with the sceptical comment (in Altunian's translation): "Aber wer weiss, vielleicht lügen sie".

[106] 1255.

Dulaurier = "Les Mongols d'après les historiens arméniens", *JA*, 5th series, XI, pp. 192-255, 426-473 and 481-508.

Hamilton = J. R. Hamilton, "Autour du manuscrit Staël-Holstein", *TP*, XLVI/1-2, pp. 115-153.

Harva = Uno Harva, *Die religiösen Vorstellungen der altaischen Völker* (Helsinki, 1938).

Histoire des Turcs = W. Barthold, *Histoire des Turcs de l'Asie Centrale* (Paris, 1945).

HJAS = *Harvard Journal of Asiatic Studies*

Horde d'Or = Paul Pelliot, *Notes sur l'histoire de la Horde d'Or* (Paris, 1950).

Ḥudūd = *Ḥudūd al-ʿĀlam*, an anonymous Persian treatise on geography, trans. and ed. V. Minorsky (London, 1937).

HWC = *The History of the World-Conqueror* by ʿAla-ad-Din ʿAta-Malik Juvaini, transl. J. A. Boyle, 2 vols. (Manchester, 1958)

Ibn-Bībī = *Die Seltschukengeschichte des Ibn Bībī*, transl. Herbert W. Duda (Copenhagen, 1959).

JA = *Journal Asiatique.*

JRAS = *Journal of the Royal Asiatic Society.*

Kāšγarī = *Divanü Lûğat-it-Türk*, transl. B. Atalay, 3 vols. (Ankara, 1939-41).

Khetagurov = Rašid-ad-Din, *Sbornik letopisei*, I/1, transl. L. A. Khetagurov (Moscow-Leningrad, 1952).

Kirakos = J. A. Boyle, "Kirakos of Ganjak on the Mongols", *CAJ*, *VIII*, 3, pp. 176-189.

Le Strange = Guy le Strange, *Lands of the Eastern Caliphate* (Cambridge, 1905).

Macartney = C. A. Macartney, *The Magyars in the Ninth Century* (Cambridge, 1930).

Marvazī = *Sharaf al-Zamān Ṭāhir Marvazī on China, the Turks and India*, ed. and transl. V. Minorsky (London, 1942).

MO = Kirakos Ganjakeçi, *Patmut ʿyun Hayoç*, ed. K. A. Melikʿ-Ōhanǰanyan (Erevan, 1961).

Mo. = Written Mongolian.

Niẓāmī-yi-ʿArūḍī = *Revised Translation of the Chahár Maqála* ("*Four Discourses*") *of Niẓámi-i-ʿArúḍí of Samarqand* ..., by Edward G. Browne (London, 1925).

Papauté = Paul Pelliot, "Les Mongols et la Papauté", *Revue d'l'Orient Chrétien*, XXIII (1922-3), XXIV (1924), and XXVIII (1931-2).

Raverty = *Ṭabaḳāt-i-Nāṣirī: A General History of the Muḥammadan Dynasties of Asia* ..., by the Maulanā, Minhāj-ud-Dīn, Abū-'Umar-i-'Uṣmān, transl. H. G. Raverty, 2 vols. (London, 1881).

Rockhill = *The Journey of William of Rubruck to the Eastern Parts of the World*, transl. W. W. Rockhill (London, 1900).

Smirnova = Rašid-ad-Din, *Sbornik letopisei*, I/2, transl. O. I. Smirnova (Moscow-Leningrad, 1952).

T. = Turkish.

TP = *Tʿoung Pao.*

Turkestan = W. Barthold, *Turkestan down to the Mongol Invasion* (London, 1928).

Vardan = *Hawakʿumn Patmutʿean Vardanay Vardapeti* (Venice, 1862).

Ẓafar-Nāma = Šaraf-ad-Dīn ʿAlī Yazdī, *Ẓafar-Nāma*, ed. Maulawī Muḥammad al-Haddād, 2 vols. (Calcutta, 1887-8).

Zwölf Vorlesungen = W. Barthold, *Zwölf Vorlesungen über die Geschichte der Türken Mittelasiens* (Berlin, 1935).